NUVATUKYA'OVI, PALATSMO, NIQW WUPATKI: HOPI HISTORY, CULTURE, AND LANDSCAPE

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INTRODUCTION

The enduring Hopi reverence for *Nuvatukya'ovi* ("Snow-mountains-peaks-place," the San Francisco Peaks) is based in the history and culture associated with the land. Viewed from the Hopi villages, the green slopes of Nuvatukya'ovi dominate the western horizon, rising dramatically above the surrounding desert. The *katsina* dwell in these peaks, coming from them in January to spend half the year at Hopi, and returning to them following the *Niman* (Homegoing Ceremony) held several weeks after the summer solstice. The katsina bring the rain clouds that form over Nuvatukya'ovi to Hopi, providing the life-giving moisture needed for bountiful crops.

Before the advent of paved highways, well-worn trails connected the Hopi Mesas with Nuvatukya'ovi. These trails ran by Wupatki and other ancestral villages, leading to shrines at or near prominent landforms, like *Palatsmo* (Sunset Crater), where the Hopi continue to offer prayers. Hopi traveled these routes on foot and burros, collecting water, spruce, and herbs from the forests of Nuvatukya'ovi to use in religious activities in their home villages. Today the Hopi people travel to Nuvatukya'ovi by pickup trucks rather than burros but the prayers they offer on the Peaks, and the materials they collect, continue the ancient religious practices of their ancestors.

This chapter provides a cultural perspective on the historical associations the Hopi people have with the U.S. 89 project area. The ancestors of the Hopi brought knowledge of Nuvatukya'ovi and the surrounding region with them when they migrated from the homes they occupied at the base of the San Francisco Peaks in the ancient past. This knowledge has been perpetuated by religious and traditional use of Nuvatukya'ovi through the subsequent centuries. How and why this area remains an integral part of the Hopi cultural landscape are the two central issues addressed in this chapter.

Nuvatukya'ovi, Palatsmo, and Wupatki are three elements of a complex cultural landscape that encompasses both the land itself and how this land is perceived by the Hopi given their cultural values and beliefs. This cultural landscape functions as memory, providing a means to transmit Hopi traditions. Through the land, the past takes form, is remembered, and discussed (Küchler 1993:85-86). The place names and stories associated with Nuvatukya'ovi serve as

Three are about 300 katsina figures, each with distinctive features, identities, and ritual roles (Colton 1947a:41; Fewkes 1903; Hieb 1994:32-33). Many of these katsina dwell on Nuvatukya'ovi (Yava 1978:97-98). When the katsina appear in the Hopi villages, they take on human-like form. Katsina embody powerful emotional and affective forces that are experienced both visually through costume and dance, and aurally through song. The katsina join with the men of the Hopi villages to pray and dance in the kivas and plazas.

Nuvatukya'ovi is the home of the clouds, *oo'omawt*, which descend from the three peaks to come to Hopi (Siweumptewa 1999). Those that leave Mt. Fremont head for Walpi to give them rain. The clouds that leave from Mt. Agassiz go to Songoopavi and Musangnuvi to give rain. Those that leave from Mt. Humphrey head to Orayvi. The peaks of Nuvatukya'ovi, visible from the Hopi villages, are covered with snow in the winter and banks of clouds emanate from them, providing a visual reinforcement of their association with katsina and water (Titiev 1972:183). Prayers are offered to Nuvatukya'ovi in many Hopi ceremonies (Parsons 1939:774-775; Stephen 1936:310, 535).

The katsina are thought to use the entire surface of Nuvatukya'ovi to prepare the making of rain and snow (Eggan 1994:10-14). As clouds, the katsina from Nuvatukya'ovi provide rain to Hopi with good hearts who are following the Hopi way of life. The mountain peaks are sacred and the shrines on them are essential in Hopi ritual. When the katsina return home to Nuvatukya'ovi after the Niman in July, they take with them knowledge of the needs of the Hopi people, knowledge that is passed on to the gods (Eggan 1994:7; Kopee 1972).

The San Francisco Peaks are used by Hopi religious practitioners, who go there to collect plants and evergreens for use in ceremonies, and to pray for the mountains (Adams 1991:66; Whiting 1966:49. As Eldridge Koinva (1998) said, "*Nu' pangso hom'oytongwu*" ("I go there to deposit corn meal and prayer offerings"). The religious activities conducted during these pilgrimages benefit the entire tribe, and Nuvatukya'ovi is thus important to all the Hopi people (Honanie in Van Otten 1982).

The association of Nuvatukya'ovi with water is important in many rain-making rituals, including the ceremonies of the Snake Society (Secakuku 1998). The water sources in and near Nuvatukya'ovi were important to Snake Clan ancestors and remain important today. One water source used by the Snake Clan, marked with a snake petroglyph, is located on the west side of the peaks near the Museum of Northern Arizona. Two other sacred springs on the west side of Nuvatukya'ovi include *Lakonva* or *La'lakontü* (Pilles 1999), and *Patusungva* ("Frozen Spring," Viet Spring). *Lakonva* is associated with the Agave chief who appears in the *Soyalangw*, a ceremony held at the winter solstice. In 1891, Stephen (1936:27) described *Lakonva* as a large spring with sweet water that is always in commotion, adding that animals fear to drink it. The Snake Clan knows the peaks as *patni*, or "water sources." *Humiipa*, a sacred spring on Humphrey's Peak (Pilles 1999), alludes to *humi*, shelled corn, providing a cultural association between the life-giving waters of Nuvatukya'ovi and the corn crops that sustain the Hopi.

There are numerous shrines located on the flanks and top of Nuvatukya'ovi, including five shrines in the saddle of the peaks (Ferguson 1998a; Siweumptewa 1999). The *Kwaakwant* (Agave Society) has a shrine in vicinity of the Peaks (Koinva 1998). There is also a spiritual kiva

Kiisonvi (Bonito Park)

Bonito Park, known to the Hopi as *Kiisonvi* ("plaza"), is an open meadow in the densely forested terrain two miles west of Palatsmo. This area is a *tipkya*, a dance place used during the Niman ceremony, and a resting place for the Katsina on their return to Nuvatukya'ovi after the Niman is performed in the Hopi villages (Balenquah 1998; Brandt 1997:9; Hamana 1998; Kuwanwisiwma 1998). *Kiisonvi* is also a traditional hunting area, where songs are sung during for the hunt. *Nanakopsi* (beebalm, *Mondarda menthaefolia*) is harvested here for use in katinsa ceremonies, and "wild spinach" (probably *tumi*, *Cleome serrulata*) is also collected here for use as a foodstuff (Mercer 1999:16; Saufkie 1999b). The view from *Kiisonvi* is dramatically marked by Palatsmo to the east, Puhutukya'ovi (O'Leary Peak) and *Yangukya'ovi* (Robinson Mountain) to the north, and Nuvatukya'ovi to the west (Siweumptewa 1999).

Hovi'itstuyqa (Mount Elden) and Pasiwvi (Elden Pueblo)

In Hopi, *Hovi'itstuyqa* (Mount Elden) means "Buttocks sticking out point" (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987a:11). Nuvatukya'ovi lies to the north of Hovi'itstuyqa, separated by a low pass. Together, these two mountains define the southeastern horizon as viewed from the Hopi Mesas. The springs on Hovi'itstuyqa have cultural importance to Hopi, including *Wuutikipi*, or Oak spring (Pilles 1999).

Elden Pueblo, often referred to as *Pasiwvi* , is situated on the eastern flank of Hovi'itstuyqa (Pilles 1987b:115). This large pueblo, ancestral to Hopi, was occupied ca. AD 1130 to 1200. *Pasiwvi* is associated with at least twelve Hopi clans, including the *Aawatngyam* (Bow Clan), *Honanngyam* (Badger Clan), *Honngyam* (Bear Clan), *Katsinngyam* (Katsina Clan), *Lenngyam* (Flute Clan), *Masihonanngyam* (Gray Badger Clan), Nuvangyam (Snow Clan), Patkingyam (Water Clan), *Piikyasngyam* (Young Corn Clan), *Tsöpngyam* (Antelope Clan), *Tsorngyam* (Bluebird Clan), and *Tsu'ngyam* (Rattlesnake Clan) (Fewkes n.d.; Gladwin 1926; Lomayestewa 1998; Mindeleff 1896:188-189; Pilles 1996a:190; Siweumptewa in Ferguson 1998a).

Katsina ceremonies are said to have been conducted at Elden Pueblo (Siweumptewa in Ferguson 1998a), and the origins of the Kwaakwant (Agave), *Wuwstim*, Al'alt (Two Horn), and *Taatawkyam* (Singers) religious societies are associated with Elden Pueblo. These ceremonies are linked with Pasiwva, which may be Little Elden Spring (Pilles 1999). Hopi Clans were living in Pasiovi when they experienced the eruption of Palatsmo. After the eruption, these clans left and other Hopi clans came into the area after them (Secakuku in Ferguson 1999a).

Pasiwvi is a complex idea in Hopi thought (Balenquah 1998; Joshevama 1998; Kuwanwisiwma 1998; 2000). It is derived from the Hopi words *pasiwni* (intent, plan, design) and *pasiwta* (be finished, completed), and is sometimes translated as the "meeting place" or "the place of making decision" (Hill et al. 1998: 394). Pasiwvi simultaneously signifies a specific pueblo, a geographical region, and an epoch. Its conceptualization thus combines spatial and temporal elements, and the interpretation of Pasiwvi is dependent upon narrative context. As a place name, Pasiwvi is applied to Elden Pueblo but it also applies to the region surrounding Nuvatukya'ovi. As Morgan Saufkie (1999b) noted, the term Pasiwvi applies to all of the sites in the U.S. 89 study area. It is in the region encompassing these sites that clans came together to receive and deliberate over spiritual instructions on how to conduct migrations and be Hopi.

Colton (1964:93-94) documented eight major routes in the Hopi trail network, including the trail to Nuvatukya'ovi (San Francisco Peaks). This route of this trail was described by Jim Kewanwytewa, who used as a young man to collect Douglas fir for use in Katsina dances. The Nuvatukya'ovi trail leads west from Orayvi around the end of Oraibi Butte into the valley of the Dennebito Wash. At Dennebito Spring the trail is joined by other trails from First and Second Mesas. The trail then follows the valley to a point near the Little Colorado River, where it crosses the river just south of Black Falls. Hopi using the trail to go to Nuvatukya'ovi would stop at Heisers Spring, and *pahos* (prayer offerings) were placed in the ice cave at Palatsmo (Sunset Crater). The trail ran north of Palatsmo to a spring on the side of the San Francisco Peaks (Colton 1945:12).

This trail was used during pilgrimages to Nuvatukya'ovi to gather evergreen boughs for the *Poyamuy* (Bean Dance) in February and the Niman (Home Dance) in July (Hough 1897:35-36; Mercer 1999:9-10). It also provided a direct route for other types of pilgrimages for the shrines on Nuvatukya'ovi that belong to different religious societies. This route started as a pilgrimage trail, and was then developed into a wagon road as a supply route between Flagstaff and the Hopi Mesas. By wagon, it took two days to traverse the trail. The route has now been developed into an improved dirt road used for vehicular traffic.

The eastern end of the Nuvatukya'ovi trail where it leaves the Hopi villages traverses a rich cultural landscape marked by springs, mesas, and other cultural features commemorated with Hopi names (Figure 4). From Songoopavi, the trail follows the Oraibi Wash to Paa'utsvi, where it then heads in a westerly direction to Masiipa (Gray Spring) and into the Dinnebito Wash, as described by Colton (1964). From this point, the trail runs north of Kaktsintuyqa (Kachina Buttes) and then southwesterly to the Little Colorado River. Figure 4 illustrates how trails physically tie the cultural features together into an integrated landscape. Although the route of the trail is not illustrated west of Kaktsintuyqa, the trail integrates the cultural landscape of Nuvatukya'ovi with that of the Hopi Mesas.

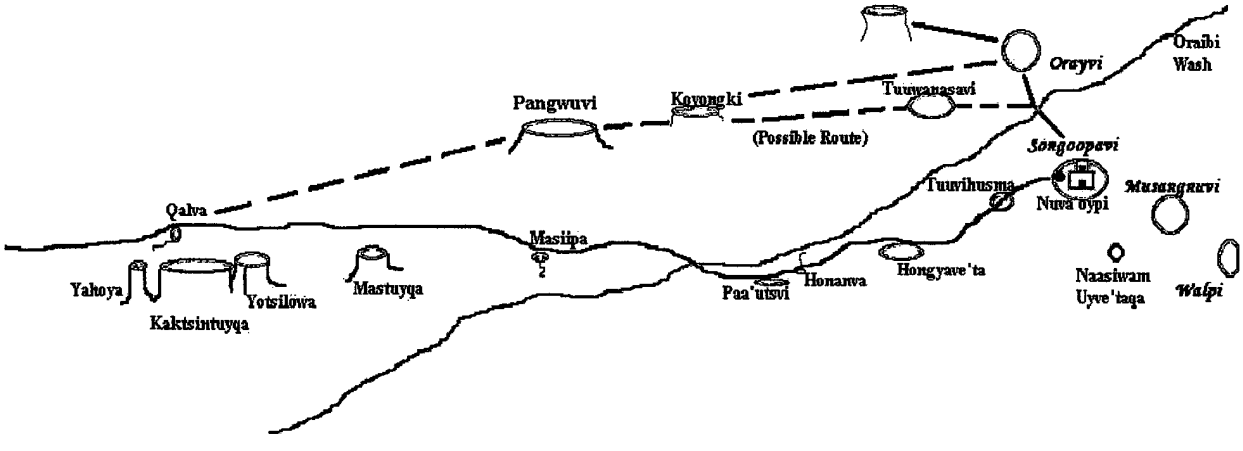

Figure 4. Eastern end of the Nuvatukya'ovi trail system. Map prepared by Micah Lomaomvaya.

The trail also commemorates the sojourn of Yahoya and his sister who came from Palatkwapi in the south, and then didn't get along with the people at Songoopavi (Saufkie 1998,

thus associated with the Bear Clan. Praying places have hearts, and paving a road over one buries this important part of the shrine. The hearth at this site may have been used to cook food during pilgrimages to the peaks of Nuvatukya'ovi. There is a similar hearth feature at the Hopi shrine of Kiisiw, and cultural advisors were reminded of that place. A spring named *Tsorspa* (bluebird water) is located near this site. The name of a spring near Hopi is derived from the spring close to NA 25,769.

The structure at NA 25,769 reminded cultural advisors of the temporary houses or shelters people build when they first settle in a new area. Cultural advisors suggested that after people gathered the crops they grew here, they moved to Wupatki. The area along a small drainage to the east of the site looks like a good farming area, and there are linear alignments of rock here that may be agricultural features used to grow corn, beans, and squash. Cultural advisors thought the people who lived here would know the weather patterns, and have knowledge about when and where to plant to grow successful crops.

NA 25,771

This site was interpreted by cultural advisors as a kíísi or taqatski (field house) for the storage of tools (Ferguson 1998a). The small size of the site may indicate seasonal occupation. The drainages near this site would be good for farming.

NA 21,104

Cultural advisors examined a masonry-lined pithouse at this small habitation site. They suggested this structure may have been related to cold weather insulation (Ferguson 1998a).

NA 20,700

One pitstructure at this large habitation site was interpreted as having been used initially as a house, and then remodeled and used as a kiva or ceremonial chamber. Cultural advisors suggested that the volcanic cinders found in this structure may have been used analogously to sand in contemporary kivas. One artifact at this site was identified as a tiiponi (emblem of religious office). A pigment grinding slab found at the site provides additional evidence for the performance of religious activities at this location. Cultural advisors thought the storage pits at the site would provide a cool place to store and preserve crops. They suggested that some pits may be test holes dug by Hopi ancestors search for buried storage pits when people returned to the site after a long absence. Some pits may have also been used for mixing adobe for wall plastering. One pit full of volcanic cinders and capped with a rock may have religious significance.

NA 25,779

Discussion at this small habitation site was focused on interpretation of one pitstructure, which was thought to be a ritual chamber (Ferguson 1998a). This pitstructure had a number of apparent ritual features, including holes for altar sticks, and divots whose ceremonial significance is now unknown. An unusually shaped upright rock found in this structure was thought to be the embodiment of supernatural being or deity. The consensus of cultural advisors